000 or simple small wooden sticks.

291 The feminine headgear universally adopted in Hungary is a small shawl (*fejkendő*) knotted either under the chin or on the back of the head. The color, material, size and method of fastening the *fejkendő* change from region to region. This garment has recently appeared in the cities, too, because of its low price.

361 Dwellings. The Magyar villages consist of courtyards of either the linear or the grouped type. In the former, the living quarters and the outbuildings are built all in one row, either contiguously or else very close to each other; in a few cases they are placed under the same roof. In the grouped type, the buildings are spread out over the lot.

342 476 Even now the average Magyar peasant builds his own house, or at the very most, he may consult a more experienced fellow townsman. His relatives and neighbors seem always to be more than glad to volunteer for such works as transportation of the materials, covering of the roof, etc. This cooperative effort (*kaláka*, *segítség*, *kocsta*) often turns into a real festivity, with various ceremonies and joyful celebration.

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The choice of building materials depends a great deal upon geographic conditions and, to a limited extent, upon the wealth of the individual builder. The most primitive is the house build of mud. Only on the driest and most barren regions of the Great Plains can this type of house properly shelter its poor inhabitants. Plashed wands are used to strengthen the foundations of these mud houses as well as the adobe houses, made of unbaked but dried cubes of clay, which are very common throughout Hungary. The dirty work of mixing and drying [563] the adobe is left to the gypsies of the village. After completion of the house, the walls are whitewashed inside and out. Stone, brick or timber are used sparsely on the Dunántúl and the Palócság, but even there the outhouses are constructed of more simple mud or clay materials.

Roofing may be of a variety of materials, thatch and reed being the most common ones. Today this roofing is still to be found, although fire ordinances prohibit their use in new constructions. They are now yielding their place to shingles, laths or tiles.

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The layout of the house is of the so-called High German type: it is a "two-fireplace" or "room-kitchen" layout. The living room (tisztaház, fehérház, tisztaszoba, etc.) is generally centered around a furnace (kemence), which is used both for heating and for baking;

another source of heat (kuhely, generally a stove) is placed in the kitchen--hence the name. The majority of peasant cottages have now a second living room (hátulsó ház, kishaz, kamora). Pantries and porches may also be added. On the Great Plains, the only entrance to the dwelling is through the kitchen door; in Transdanubia, the living room may be reached through another door. 342 [354]

The flooring is very primitive. It is generally of tamped dirt, covered over with clay and then smoothened. Sometimes the clay is blended with urry, lute or loam for coloring purposes. Such mixtures may be applied on the walls of the rooms also, although whitewashing is the more common procedure.

Besides the dwelling house, the Magyars construct separate buildings to shelter their domesticated animals and to store crops or equipment. Some are also designed for certain kinds of farm work. 343

The fencing surrounding the courtyard is made of one of the above-mentioned primitive materials. Hedges, dry stalk, harrow, or simply branches or thorns are also used. In some towns on the Great Plains, thick mud or adobe walls are built on the street side, high enough to hide the farm buildings completely. 351

City buildings are, of course, varied in style, structure and

342 City buildings are, of course, varied in style, structure and "a"-lg-7
369 material and bear the general aspect of any urban settlement.

In city homes, individual rooms serve different purposes: they are living rooms, dining rooms, bedrooms, etc. This differentiation is, however, completely absent in the peasant home, despite the ever-increasing number of rooms into which they may be divided.

Nowadays, when there is a second or even a third living room in most of the country houses, the main living room is actually used very little; it is preserved primarily for receiving guests of importance
352 or for feasting on certain family occasions. The pride of the main living room is the decorated bed (menyezeteságy, tornyosnyoszolya) which serves as a purely decorative item, being piled, in some cases to the ceiling, with eider-down quilts and pillows. Chairs are lined
354 up in front of this bed. In many homes, a furnace is built in a corner near the entrance to the room. It is a cumbrous convenience made of clay in different sizes and shapes, and whitewashed or inlaid with pottery. The most elaborate ones may be found displayed in the Trans-danubian homes. These come equipped with built-in chimney corner seats
352 (padka) long enough to sleep one person. In the corner opposite the furnace is a heavy table, with two benches along the walls. In the homes of well-to-do peasants, the table moves to the middle of the

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CHAPTER II

THE FACE OF HUNGARY, 1919–1940

131 Within the limits imposed upon Hungary by the Treaty of Trianon, the state consisted, roughly, of the central plains which had formed the heart of the old 'historic Hungary'. Strips of the plain were, however, assigned, mainly on account of the railways running through them, to all the neighbouring countries, except Austria, while north of Budapest Hungary retained some of the foothills of the Carpathians, which at that point run far south. German and Italian help since 1938 put the Hungarians in dubious possession once more of nearly all the plain, as well as of the mountains of Ruthenia and northern Transylvania. In this chapter, however, only passing reference will be made to what lies outside the Trianon frontiers.

133 **VILLAGES OF THE GREAT PLAIN.** The Hungarian plain has a character which is very much its own, and very different at least from anything in Western or Central Europe. It is also, in many respects, remarkably uniform to the eye: in whatever part of it the traveller may be, he cannot doubt for an instant that he is in Hungary. This uniformity is, of course, partly due to human
342 agency. All the cottages, which are the homes of more than half the population of Hungary, are built, with local variants, on the same general pattern. All are one-storied—a house with more

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342 than one story practically does not exist in Hungary outside the towns and, even in the towns, the suburbs usually follow the village pattern. Nearly all of them are white-washed, a plain surface without ornamentation. (The Germans of the Danube valley like a yellow wash, the Slavs draw a band of blue above the earth level, the Rumanians often 351 go in for gay frescoes.) Each of them stands, usually narrow end on to the street, in its own courtyard, with the stables and barns at the back. A verandah runs along the side which faces the 346 yard. The village churches, too, are almost all of a pattern. Except in some of the towns, and in a few sheltered corners near the western frontier, all the older buildings were destroyed in the 233 Turkish wars, and the village church to-day is practically always a plain yellow building of the eighteenth or nineteenth century, varying only in size or in the possession of one or of two bulbous towers.

423 THE COMMUNAL PASTURE AND POND. Common to almost all Hungary, too, are the grazing-grounds [312] outside each village, with the typical 'Gémkut' or crane-well, standing above the trough at which the cattle are watered. The 'Gémkut' consists of a rough pole, twelve or fifteen feet high, and ending in a fork. In this is balanced another log, with a chain at each end. From one chain hangs a bucket, which is dipped into the well or trough, while the other is used, lever-wise, to raise or lower the bucket. Horses and cattle are driven out in the morning and grazed communally, often by dashing young men, who summon their charges

1 [Hungarian cottages--Analyst]

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posed of only three or four streets, sometimes only one. The little white cottages stand along it at regular intervals; only in old villages where families have multiplied and land is short, one site will contain three or four cottages crowded together. All the cottages are usually much of a size, except for the houses of the village priest, the schoolmaster and the notary. The older cottages are built of sun-dried brick, and thatched; the newer ones are of fired brick, and often roofed with the uglier but more healthy material known as 'eternit'. Most villages also contain one or more larger houses, the houses of the local squires or, as they call themselves (by the English word) 'gentry'. Every third or fourth village boasts a larger 'castle', the seat of the local 'magnate', prince, count or baron so-and-so. Sometimes these 'castles' face right on to the village street; more often they are set back in rather dusty parks. Each has a portico in front of it, with a coat of arms carved on the architrave; but like the cottages, they are usually one-storied and, like them, usually end at the back in farm buildings.

West Hungary is a pleasant country, in places well wooded and, although no hedges divide the fields, the sunken, dusty farm tracks, like deep Devonshire lanes, are often enclosed with acacias which meet over the head. A reasonable rainfall comes from the west, giving good crops, and the southern slopes of the hills are clothed with vineyards yielding a wine which is light (not so light as it seems) but very palatable. The country is essentially rural and the population has long been almost stationary; in many places, indeed, the

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As such, its aspect—even apart from the monotony of the landscape—is less attractive than that of West Hungary. The effects of the Turkish rule, which turned populous cultivated areas into desolate wastes, are still visible. The survivors from the villages ravaged by the Turks took refuge in the towns such as Szeged, Debreczen, Kecskemét, Szabadka or Hódmezövásárhely, which swelled into enormous conglomerations, villages on the huge scale, each with one or two larger buildings in its centre and round them miles and miles of straight village streets, muddy in winter, dusty in summer, lined with row after row of uniform, white one-storied cottages. Between one town and its neighbour, perhaps 30 miles distant, the whole countryside would be left empty. Gradually, as security returned, the people ventured out. At first they built only rude shelters, *tányas*, in which the men passed the summer, returning in winter to the towns, where they had left the women, children and old people. Presently the *tányas* were made permanent and developed into regular farms, so that in this part of Hungary there are no villages, but only the few great towns and between them the scattered *tányas*, whose isolation is rendered more complete by the almost impossible state of the roads in spring and autumn.

The climate, too, is unfriendly. The summer is often exceedingly dry, and the whole country seems then to dissolve into a cloud of dust. On the other hand, the spring, when the snows melt in the mountains where the Tisza and its tributaries have their head-waters, often brings disastrous floods which cover the fields and sweep away the flimsy mud-built houses

[Line, the Alföld, the Great Plain of Hungary -- Analyst]

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threshing, etc. are done centrally. Many big owners, of course, own several estates, and often lease some of them.

Manual labour is very extensively used, even on the largest estates, which employ many more labourers than modern farms of the same size in England and, correspondingly, fewer machines. This is partly due to habit, partly to shortage of capital which has prevented the landlords from buying machinery. But it is also due to deliberate government policy; for the landlords were encouraged to go on using manual labour in order to save the farm-hands, for whom no alternative employment could be found, from falling into complete destitution. This policy was necessary, since there was not enough industry to absorb the surplus people from the land, but it naturally added to the difficulties of Hungarian agriculture, since, however low the wages that were paid, they yet formed a heavy charge on the landlord's balance-sheet. Since the outbreak of the present war, this had led to a new difficulty. Much of the labour has been drawn off for military service or by the needs of munition industries, but Hungary has not been able to manufacture, or to buy from Germany, the machines necessary to replace the old hand-labour. Agriculture has therefore, been suffering from a severe shortage of labour, which has affected the whole of production.

THE STANDARD OF LIVING. The living standards of the smaller peasants and of most of the agricultural labourers are extremely low. Their cottages look picturesque, but their walls of sun-dried

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342 brick, earthen floors and thatched roofs make them
511 damp and unhealthy. The peasants eat very simply and the poorest among them, the seasonal labourers, are often literally half-starving during the months before harvest.

511 This can be paralleled in many other countries
464 of Central and Eastern Europe, for in most of those countries all standards are far below those obtaining in Britain. Indeed, owing to the fertility of the Hungarian soil, even the poorest classes there still live better than the inhabitants of many other districts, especially those of the barren, rocky parts of the Balkans. In fact, the whole of Eastern Europe suffers from the same root evil of overcrowding on the land. In the past hundred years the population has increased very rapidly. While in Western Europe, when the same increase took place, the new industries were able to absorb the workers for whom there was no room on the land, in Eastern Europe, where capital was scarce, industry developed more slowly, and could only give employment to a small proportion of the growing country population. Before the last war there was
[167] a very large emigration to America from all the East European countries, including Hungary, but for the past twenty years the United States have admitted few immigrants. This is perhaps the chief reason why the position has continued to grow worse, although the falling birth-rate and the rather faster development of industry have brought some relief.

565 **SOCIAL INFERIORITY OF THE PEASANTRY.** Where
423 the Hungarian small peasant or labourer is so